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Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee,

It is a privilege to appear before you in these hearings. I believe, as I think you do, that exhaustive and objective investigations of the tragic assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and the Reverend Martin Luther King can make a contribution to history and resolve the nagging doubts that have been created and kept alive over the past fifteen years.

You have asked me to speak to the future, and how the Government should act in the event of a future assassination of a major public figure. For CIA's role in such an eventuality, I should speak against the background of what CIA is, and what its responsibilities and capabilities are. This seems appropriate, for despite all the publicity over the past few years, the public still has something less than a perfect picture of the Agency.

So I would like to speak briefly about the Agency. It must be remembered that CIA was created following World War II, at the beginning of what came to be known as the Cold War. In addition to its role of collection and analysis of intelligence, CIA was tasked immediately to perform a range of activities for which there was no real precedent and for which no clear terms of reference were

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available. This was part of an unprecedented period of American initiatives and leadership in the free world. For its part, CIA was required to involve itself in programs aimed at countering various organized Communist initiatives then attacking Western governments and institutions. This part of its mission involved a wide range of clandestine activity unfamiliar to most Americans.

The normal process of evolution has worked its way within the Agency over the years. The resulting changes should be viewed in the context of change itself. Any dynamic organization does change with the temper of the times and this is particularly true in the case of Government agencies, especially in response to the policy postures of the Government. The CIA is a dynamic organization and one of its strengths has always been its responsiveness to new requirements and Governmental direction.

It is not difficult to recognize the many and varied talents in this organization. It has been difficult, however, to convey to the public a balanced picture of the Agency, because of the necessary secrecy that surrounds much of what it does. It has been said so many times that it risks becoming trite--but it is worth saying again--that the Central Intelligence Agency can easily staff the faculty of an institution of higher learning. Its scholarly

researchers, specialists in many walks of life, and its creative scientists and technicians constitute a remarkable national resource. I like to think that this has been made clear often enough to be generally recognized.

It is in the world of clandestine operations, which so few have a basis for judging, that it has been proven difficult for the media and the public to develop a balanced appreciation of CIA's activities. It is often said that our successes in this work cannot be described, and that is as it should be. It also has been said that our failures are called out from the roof tops, and indeed they have been; but not everything that is controversial has necessarily been either wrong or a failure, and some public treatment has not discriminated between the two. Yet success in clandestine operations depends to a great degree on secrecy. Not only must the operations be conducted with good security at the time they occur, but those engaged in them must be unidentified as well. And that anonymity must be extended into the future, both to preserve the services of the individuals involved, and to protect them from bodily harm. Were we to make a practice of exposing them, this would come to work against our ability to gain such future cooperation.

Secrecy extends into the offices of researchers and analysts as well. While it is no secret that CIA has a

large group of researchers and analysts, much of the information with which they work comes from highly sensitive sources that must be protected. While unclassified reports can be and are produced, much of the report production must bear high security classifications. Quite frankly, if we did not protect these sources we would lose them. Each such loss contributes to the blinding of our policymakers.

Operational and source security traditionally have been central features of successful intelligence throughout the history of mankind. The importance of these considerations is recognized in our own laws, the National Security Act of 1947 making the Director responsible for protection of intelligence sources and methods from unauthorized disclosure. The shorthand phrase "protection of sources and methods" is central to the conduct of the business of intelligence, both by reason and by force of law.

This Committee has an outstanding record on this score. We have not been plagued with dangerous leaks that expose valuable resources abroad or, for that matter, that do us damage in the areas in which we must operate.

We share a common responsibility of maintaining the balance between necessary secrecy and the openness of a free society. Success in maintaining that balance is an

important factor in the ability to preserve both our national security and our free society. I name them together, because they are surely linked together in the world in which we live. In this country we handle the public's secrets under the direction of our elected leader, the President, and with the nation's elected representatives in the Oversight Committee of the Congress.

We have extended access to your Committee to many inner secrets, knowing that these--the public's secrets--will be kept, while the broad story can still be told.

This special requirement of security on the part of the CIA must be kept in mind, as it will constitute a very real consideration in decisions of how to conduct any future such inquiry as yours, should the occasion arise.

It also should be pointed out that CIA seldom conducts investigations in the normal sense. Its employees abroad are under cover, not openly acknowledged as CIA. Their sudden conversion to police-type investigators in some future inquiry, moving about overtly in a foreign jurisdiction, would not only involve them in the use of techniques not regularly a part of their professional practice, but it would compromise their ability to perform for long at that location as well as elsewhere abroad in the future. The point is that CIA ordinarily does not carry out its intelligence operations as policemen or detectives. Its

approach is to focus rather sharply on selected intelligence targets, which are approached clandestinely. The only persons in the Agency who really engage in regular investigative work are security officers conducting background investigations on individuals in order to clear them for access to classified information.

It is in this context that I respond to your request as to what the actions of CIA should be in the event of a future assassination of a major political figure. I will not try to predict what kind of an assassination may occur, at what level of public importance, with what international implications. The range of resulting situations will vary so that what is done should depend very much on the circumstances at the time.

So far as the role of CIA is concerned, in any assassination inquiry, its jurisdiction is that of foreign intelligence, subject to Presidential directive and Congressional review. The Agency is restricted by Executive Order in what it can do within the United States, and more specifically is proscribed by law from having any law enforcement activity. These considerations, in addition to those of security, will impact directly on the role of CIA in the event of any future assassinations.

Before discussing how CIA might conduct itself in some future assassination, I wish first to comment on the

more important subject of our hope to contribute to the prevention of future assassinations. In doing this, I must also comment that so far as CIA is concerned, you are depending on a network of dedicated and talented people throughout the world. They engage in out-of-the-ordinary endeavours, at some personal risk, on unusual subject matter. They do not have the satisfaction of sharing their experiences with their families; there are some families that do not even know the true employment of the head of the household. You would have to look very far indeed to find such a collection of dedicated public servants. So far as CIA's contribution is concerned, they would carry the load.

Were there to be assassination plots, we hope to learn of them--we would like to find out before it happens. Were CIA, in its activities, to learn of the planned assassination of a public figure it would have the responsibility to report it immediately. For your information, there are public figures alive in this world today who have CIA to thank for it, as we have alerted the security organizations in foreign governments so steps could be taken in time. Further, in an age of organized terrorism, we have been able to learn of plots that would have resulted in the death of innocent private citizens and have been able to cause actions that saved their lives. Security

considerations forbid me to do more than allude to it.

I must emphasize that the ability of CIA to find its way to the shapeless secrets in the dark world of terrorism and violence is a chancey and risky business. It depends on many things. To the extent that we can gain and hold the confidence of individuals who will report to us what terrorists and assassins are doing, we increase our chance of learning such things. To the extent that we must reveal our sources and jeopardize the lives and safety of those who work for us, our chances for succeeding are reduced.

Whether we are working against the classical intelligence targets, or in penetrations of unofficial terrorist organizations, it involves the lives of people who are willing to trust our ability to protect them. If the word goes out that CIA does not protect those who work for it I must say categorically that our ability to do the job that we are supposed to do will have been severely impaired. Private individuals who have worked for us, and still do would come to fear to continue to do so. Further, the security and law enforcement organizations of foreign governments may also come to doubt our reliability. I say may, but I must tell you that this is already happening in some areas and is a growing source of concern. I must also say to you, as it relates to those investigating bodies

that may follow you in the future, they may find us less helpful than we have been to you because we will have fewer sources available to us. As a part of the inherent philosophical tension in having a secret organization in an open society, there can be grave problems in over-exposure and destruction of the very thing the United States Government has the right to expect from an organization such as CIA.

What considerations would affect CIA if there was an assassination of a President?

First, there may be international implications. Were such an event to occur again, CIA would--as it did following the assassination of President Kennedy--institute a world-wide intelligence alert. The murder of the President may have serious implications for the national security of the United States.

Beyond that we would, as we did following the assassination of President Kennedy, levy general requirements for reporting of any information that bears on the subject. This would be followed, if appropriate, by more specific requests, as was done in the early days following the assassination of President Kennedy, when Lee Harvey Oswald's role and background became known.

After the first alert, the question would be whether the assassin (and where there is more than one, his colleagues)

had any international connections. On this question there would be certain things that CIA would do automatically. It would check its files for any possible indications of foreign connections on the part of the assassin. It could approach the police and security organizations in those countries where it has connections to ask for advice and assistance. In terms of past capabilities our performance in this respect should be good. Beyond this, the various established intelligence sources can be queried for any information that they may have; however, it is unlikely that these rather specially selected sources would be able to produce much useful information bearing on a particular assassination.

In the case of Lee Harvey Oswald, CIA was able to obtain information on his travel back to the United States from the Soviet Union, as well as being able to produce limited information about his contacts with Soviet and Cuban officialdom during his brief visit to Mexico a month and a half before the assassination of the President. While there was reporting of reactions around the world, there was not much directly on Oswald. As one CIA report stated it, during the original inquiry, other information on Oswald from abroad was limited "partly...by the facts of Lee Oswald's life." Obviously, if there is no information we will find none. If it exists, but is well concealed,

we may be unable to come by it.

Up to this point I have been considering the considerations affecting how CIA, as a unit, would function. Of course others would be involved as well, circumstances determining the approach.

Were there to be an assassination abroad, an important part of the problem would be political. The United States Government, at a diplomatic level, could seek assistance from the domestic law enforcement and security agencies of the country where the incident occurs. CIA and the FBI could share in this in some way, the division of effort depending very much on circumstances difficult to predict.

The assassination of President Kennedy--inside the United States--involved CIA in something of a limited supporting role. The things that were known and seemed at that time to bear on the assassination were reported. In the event of a future assassination inside the United States, CIA's role would depend on a number of considerations. After the initial actions that might be taken if the victim was the President, there may be no investigation at all. Say the assassin was a disgruntled office-seeker in an open-and-shut case. Further, if the assassin survives, his right to a fair trial may inhibit the sort of inquiry your Committee or the Warren Commission conducted.

In the event of an assassination of a major domestic

figure, without implications of an international nature, CIA is unlikely to find itself involved in any material degree. If there were unexpected international ramifications, the Agency would, of course, probably have some role.

If a foreign political figure falls victim to an assassin in the United States, the complications would be multiplied. Just consider. If our President were killed abroad, we would want some role in the inquiry. But to what extent would we accord similar treatment to foreigners whose motives may differ from ours?

There could be a wide range of possible situations in which CIA might not be involved at all, or even peripherally. If we are tempted to try and design a standard approach for the future, that consideration should give us some pause.

I believe that we should not try today to structure tomorrow's investigation. I feel that our representative society must trust our elected officials then to exercise the best judgment of the moment. It is easy in retrospect to impose later judgments on past events in the light of changed perceptions and standards. It is not so simple to determine a future plan that would have to function under circumstances that we cannot predict. Rather than imposing some rigid approach on future officials, I would favor leaving them all the latitude they would wish and need.

I have found the subject on which you have asked me to speak to a bit abstract for fully satisfactory treatment. How to deal with future assassinations, if they occur, can be generalized at best, from CIA's vantage point. However, we do believe that the tragedies of the assassinations you have been investigating are sound cause for your efforts. I trust that your findings will be useful and sound. The task has been a difficult one, and I know that you must welcome the approaching conclusion of your efforts.